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[91] " ask the boy (candidate) various questions as to his past behaviour, and he is put on oath to answer truly ". [92] Apparently no special ordeal such as we find among the Kiyaga is attached to this testing.

b) The operation may be performed " in the morning or the evening according to the particular custom of the family concerned " (Fox). Generally it takes place early in the morning. The operator is said never to be a Maasi. Generally he is a Dorobo, and sometimes a Kikuyu (Fox). This peculiarity is worth noting, especially if it is compared with the great care observed in selecting all other healers or officers out of the pure Maasi. [93]

[94] Before the operation is performed, the candidates take a cold bath in order to make their body insensible, or remain " shivering in a state of nudity until the sun rises " (Beaver). [95] Candidates are then operated upon, outside the village near the right-hand post of the gate. The patient must not betray any sign of suffering. That would disgrace him and all his family. A few elders assist and support the patient during the operation, and help him to his mother's house after the wound has been washed. Once inside he is given food (fresh blood) and a special beverage, called *esy olpete*, after which he is allowed to speak.

[95] The circumcised youth is presented by his mother's brother with new sandals, and henceforth he is not supposed to make use of any garment worn before the ceremony. A procession by four girls (cfr. Fox), wearing brassilee takes place to the entrance of the [96] boy's hut. The elders are again entertained with meat and beer;

[96] wife of a man has her independent house where she lives with her children and cattle. But the whole homestead belongs to the latter, and it would be quite correct, though not so precise, to say: the house of the candidate's father.

[97] We may assume that these questions are connected with the candidate's moral and social behaviour. Fosbrooke states that " prior to circumcision no youth may have intercourse with a circumcised woman. This is a rule most strictly adhered to ". The same custom is observed among the Pondi-speaking peoples.

[98] Cfr. the election of the *Il Ol opiro* or the *Ilaiboni*, of the *el oeni* boys, the *ajeuoni*, and the *mojungoo* or the *Ilelangoro-Ilaiboni*, of the *el oeni* or the seats.

[99] Lugard states that it is " absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony ". No further details are given, nor are reasons offered for this fact which is not mentioned by any of our Maasi authorities. However, it shows that circumcision is not related to the cattle aspect of Maasi culture.

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warriorhood". He also states that *Unoto* "is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system".

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [90] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [91] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [92] another test is performed insidie the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [93] we read that every candidate is expected to give "an account" of his past life. "The importance of the *E-Unoto*" states the same report, "lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe". "The *O-Singira*" says FOX, [94] "gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

[90] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* "all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present" is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kuputiei, Lodokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated "by sections or groups of sections" and is attended by as many warriors as possibile, "but by no means all". SANDFORD, on HEMSTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakonyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapatu, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best.

[91] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says "not so big"; HOLLIS "small". Leakey and FOX state respectively "an enormous", and a "very large" hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[92] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[93] *NAD*, p. 21.

[94] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

3: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1910 FL12 Masai FL12

sweetheart (*e-sanja*) a girl of the same sub-clan as himself, or one who is more nearly related to him than third cousin, and only then if the terms of address used are *ol-le-'sōtwa* and *en-e-'sōtwa*; and no traveller may cohabit with the wife of a member of his own age-grade if that man is married to one of his near relations, or to a daughter of his sub-clan.[1]

The payment of the bridal price authorises a Masai to reckon the children which his wives bear as his own; it further gives him a full measure of control over both his wives and children, and they do all the household work and tend and look after his herds and flocks. But though individual marriage is recognised, sexual communism or something very like it prevails between all the men of one age-grade and the women of the corresponding age-grade, subject to the rules of exogamy and relationship, which forbid a man to marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan or with a near relative. In other words the Masai may be said to live in a state of group marriage, based on the organisation of the whole community in age-grades, and restricted by the exogamy of the sub-clans and the rules regarding incest.

If a man is knowingly guilty of incest, or has sexual intercourse with a daughter of his own sub-clan, he is punished by his relations, who flog him and slaughter some of his cattle. If he fornicates or commits adultery with a daughter of a member of his own age-grade, he is punished by the members of his age-grade. His kraal is destroyed, he is severely beaten, and a number of his oxen are slaughtered. If a warrior or boy commits adultery with a wife of a man belonging to his father's age-grade, he is solemnly cursed by the members of that age-grade. Unless he pays the elders two oxen, one for them to eat and the other to enable them to buy honey wine, and prays them to remove the curse, it is supposed he will die.

If a man unintentionally commits incest—and it is quite conceivable that a man might not know his fourth or fifth cousin, for instance, should the two live in different districts—he has to present a cow to the girl's relations in order to "kill the relationship" (*a-ar eng-anyit*).

A man must abstain from having sexual intercourse with his wife as soon as she becomes pregnant, and he may not again have connection with her until the child cuts the two middle incisor teeth of its upper and lower jaws. Should this rule be broken it is believed that the child will never be strong. In the event of a man having intercourse with a pregnant woman, and thereby causing her to abort, he must submit to a punishment which is called *ol-kiáuroto*. All the women of the neighbourhood collect together and, having stripped, seize the guilty person and flog him, after which they slaughter as many of his cattle as they can, strangling and suffocating the animals with their garments.

Other occasions when the sexes may not have sexual intercourse are when

[1] For the rules regarding hospitality see *The Masai*, p. 287. An age-grade consists of all those men who are circumcised at one of the four festivals held during every 7½ years. See *The Masai*, p. 262.

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poison is being made and when honey wine is being brewed. During the time that a man is making poison (eight days) he is treated almost as an outcast. He must leave his house at 4 a.m. and not return till 7 p.m., when he must rub clay on his body. He may not eat when the sun is above the horizon; he may only relieve nature far away from the kraal; and he must sleep alone. If he were to break any of these rules it is believed that the poison would be useless. When honey wine is to be brewed a man and a woman are selected for the purpose, neither of whom has had sexual intercourse for two days. A hut is set apart for them to live in until the honey wine is ready for drinking (six days), during which time they may not sleep together. As soon as the honey wine is ready they receive payment, and go to their respective homes. Were they to have sexual intercourse during the six days that the honey wine is brewing, it is believed that the wine would be undrinkable, and the bees that made the honey would fly away.

Mothers-in-law and their sons-in-law (*esg-apatani*) must avoid one another as much as possible, and if a son-in-law enters his mother-in-law's hut she must retire into the inner compartment and sit on the bed, whilst he remains in the outer compartment; they may then talk. Own brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani le-anyit* and *e-sindani e-anyit*) must also avoid one another, though this rule does not apply to half-brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law (*o-sindani* and *e-sindani*). This rule is possibly due to the fact that when a man dies his own brother may not marry his widow, though there is no objection to his half-brother (paternal) or one of his paternal cousins taking her to wife. In fact, the only person who may marry a widow is one of the deceased husband's half-brothers or paternal cousins. It frequently happens, however, that widows never re-marry, but live with their children in the kraal of the eldest living brother of their late husband, who becomes the guardian of their children.

Divorce is almost unknown amongst the Masai, and it is only barren women who may be divorced. But if a woman is barren it is usual for her husband to give her some of his children by another wife to bring up. Daughters are usually selected; but if there are several sons the youngest and the youngest but two may be given to the stepmother. When a barren woman is a bad woman and is disliked by her husband and his other wives, she may be divorced, in which case her father or his heirs must refund the cattle paid for her, and she is at liberty to re-marry.

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particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the women of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'" 553 551

Tooth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed. 304 [852] [412] [158]

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants. 524

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them. 291

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown. 262

PART II.—BOYHOOD.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation. 857

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, 836 883 684 [834]

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836 883 684 [834] and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase themselves. (*See* Marriage.)

881 561 *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olamal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

[831] Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax-skin karosses, and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

[836] During the whole time that these *olamal* groups are wandering about from village to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the [614] Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *oregeteng*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

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881 As only those candidates who belong to a given village may be operated on in that village, it is seldom that there is more than one circumcised at a time, but should there be two or three candidates belonging to a single village they would be circumcised together on the same day at the same time. There is no elaborate ceremonial accompanying the operation or preparatory to it. A boy will continue herding his cattle until the late afternoon of the day before that fixed for his circumcision. He is then fetched back to the village and has his hair shaved off by his mother, and has new sandals and a new skin dress given to him. This dress must be made of the skins of four rams sewn together, and will be worn the following day during the operation. The actual operation takes place next day, either early in the morning or in the middle of the day. If it is in the morning, the cattle are kept in the yard until the ceremony is over, but if it is in the middle of the day the cattle must be brought into the yard and kept there during the ceremony, for it is absolutely essential that the cattle shall be in their enclosure during the whole of the ceremony. Sheep and goats are not included in this rule. The boy (or boys) sits on an ox-skin in the courtyard in front of his mother's hut wearing his new ram-skin dress and sandals, and the operator performs the operation with a special small knife without any elaborate ceremonial. The boy then retires to his hut to convalesce. A fat ram is killed for the patient, who is fed on meat boiled in fat and on plain cold fat, "so that he may get well quickly." After about five or six days the other boys in the district who have already been circumcised and have recovered, call for the boy, and he joins their band for the period of their novitiate.

881 561 *The Novitiate.*—The period of novicehood varies in length of time, as a boy must remain in the novice stage from the time that he is circumcised until every other candidate has been circumcised too. Usually a period of about two years elapses between the time of the bull-seizing ceremony and the time when the last candidate has been operated upon. Then the group undergoes the hair-shaving ceremony which marks their transfer from the novice stage to the warrior stage; thus, the last few to be circumcised may only have a few weeks in the novice stage, while others may be about two years in that stage. During the novitiate, there are certain rules and regulations which must be observed by the novices. They wander about the country in bands armed with bows and bird-arrows visiting more especially those villages where they hear that fresh candidates have just been circumcised, and enlisting them in their groups. During the whole novitiate period the novices must not cut their hair at all, nor may they indulge in any form of sexual intercourse, nor may they use red ochre, but only plain fat on their bodies. They are required to shoot as many birds as they can, and to skin them and stuff them roughly with grass, and tie them to their hair as a decoration. More and more skins are added to this head-dress as the weeks go by, until at length a boy has a complete wig of stuffed bird skins. Certain birds must on no account be so used, notably birds such as pigeons, doves, and

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When the time for the ceremony arrives, a very big village is built called *sunubu*, and all the members of that age-grade which is to be transferred from the Junior to the Senior Warriorhood stage assemble here with their friends and relations. The warriors concerned all dress up in their very best finery, and lion skins especially are in great demand; and for nine days they dance a special dance called *Kaibach el moran*. During the whole nine days of dancing a very great number of cattle are slaughtered, and there is great feasting and beer-drinking, but neither the dancing nor the feasting are the important part of the ceremony; they are merely incidentals, centred around the *thingira*.

The Thingira.—Away from the main village an enormous hut has been built which will accommodate anything up to four hundred men at a time. It is said to be round in plan, to have a pointed roof, and to take very many days to build. There are no partitions inside it, but in the centre is dug a circular pit. Outside the hut is a thorn fence with only one entrance. This hut is called *thingira* (a word which has been borrowed by the neighbouring Kikuyu and applied to ordinary bachelor huts), and is the centre of the whole of the *Eunutu* ceremony. During the whole of the nine days of the ceremony this *thingira* is used as a "club-house" by the men of the age-group concerned with the ceremony, but there are certain restrictions, and it is these restrictions which give the key to the meaning of the whole ceremony. It is considered both ignoble and dishonourable for any man in the warrior groups—and more especially the junior warrior groups—to have any sexual relations with any but the uninitiated girls, but, of course, cases do occur either openly (*see* Forced Marriage) or in private. Now all members of the age-group concerned must be present at the *Eunutu* ceremony, but only those who have strictly observed the above regulation and have never had sexual relations with an initiated girl or married woman may enter the *thingira*. In order that no one may do so under false pretences the entrance to the *thingira* is bewitched by the elders, so that if anyone ineligible enters he will surely die.

The *thingira* is not big enough for all the warriors concerned to use it simultaneously, and each day for the nine days there is a public ceremony when the various individual territorial groups are expected to enter. For this ceremony all the friends and relations of those who are expected to enter collect round the entrance and each individual as he enters is greeted with applause, as he has shown by entering that he has not dishonoured himself or his family. Those warriors who dare not enter try to slink away unobserved, for they are disgraced. Inside the hut—as mentioned—is a large hole which is used as a cesspool, into which the men who enter the hut must urinate. This cesspool is also bewitched as an extra precaution, and anyone who has falsely entered and evaded the witchcraft of the entrance will certainly die upon urinating in the hole. All those who enter the *thingira* on any given day during the ceremony sleep there that night, and also have milk and meat brought them for food, and sit and talk for hours. During

883 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
836 sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
[834] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

841 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[171] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

842 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (*see* Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

847 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortificant. This is the only method used.

848 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition
581 becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (*see* below)
884 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

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from having the honour of the feast of her initiation." Should the man decide to marry the girl, this heifer is counted as one of those which must be handed over for the marriage transaction (*see* Marriage).

Girls' Initiation.—Among the Masai girls are initiated singly and not in groups, nor are they initiated until a good many years after puberty, for as soon as a girl is initiated she must be married, and cease to have any intercourse with the warriors or boys. Except under the circumstances described above, a girl is not initiated until her breasts begin to droop to a marked extent. As soon as this is noticeable, her mother informs the father, who makes the necessary arrangements. If the girl's mother is living at the time at a *manyatta* with one of her sons, then the girl's initiation will take place at the *manyatta*, otherwise it will take place at the home village. The essential point is that initiation must take place in the mother's hut (or in the hut of another of her father's wives, should her own mother be dead). The father comes to the place when the day of the ceremony has been fixed and beer is prepared. A ram called *olekelnjatha* is slaughtered either before the actual operation or just after it. This is the "ram for childbearing," and is supposed to insure fertility. This ram is eaten by all those present at the ceremony. The actual operation is performed by an old woman, who is a skilled operator (she may be either a Masai or a Dorobo), and the girl sits on a skin inside the hut during the operation. The operation is said to be the same as that used by the Kikuyu on their girls, and this is a form of clitoridectomy, but exact details cannot be obtained from the men. As soon as the operation is over the operator washes the girl to "cleanse her of the blood spilt" and a ram is then slaughtered and given to the operator. This ram is called *oletuguet*. Next a ram is killed called *olkelelartat* to provide meat and fat for the girl during convalescence.

Shaving Ceremony.—Finally after the girl is healed and before she can go to her husband's village, a ram is killed called *olbarnet*, which is the "ram for the shaving," and at the same time the girl's head is shaved by her mother.

PART V.—MARRIAGE.

Exogamy.—Marriage is always exogamous as far as sub-clans are concerned, but marriage within the main clan is allowed. This rule not only applies to marriage but to all forms of sexual intercourse. No one, whether as a boy, warrior, or a married may, may at any time ever have sexual intercourse with any woman, girl or child of his own sub-clan. This is the strictest rule of all Masai sex regulations, and the penalty for any breach of this rule is very severe indeed (*see* below).

A woman remains a member of her own sub-clan even after marriage, but her children belong to the sub-clan of her husband.

Betrothal.—Amongst the Masai there are two usual methods of betrothal:—

(1) Betrothal of unborn children.

(2) Betrothal of infant girls.

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585 837 *Married Sex Life.*—Among the Masai (as already stated) a married woman's first duty to her husband is to bear him children, and husbands do not mind if their wives have intercourse with other men, provided that they do not do so actually at a time when their husbands want them themselves. Even in such a case—apart [684] from private measures which a husband might take—there is no recognized punishment for the woman, or any legal claim against the man, provided, of course, he is a married man of a sub-clan other than the woman's own.

834 *Sex Restrictions.*—There are, of course, certain definite regulations which must be observed, the chief of which are :—

(1) No woman may have intercourse while she is with child (not even with her husband).
(2) No woman may have intercourse during the actual period of menstruation.
(3) No married woman may have intercourse with an uninitiated boy.
(4) No man in the warrior class may have intercourse with a married woman.
(5) No married man may have intercourse with an uninitiated girl.
(6) No woman may have intercourse with a man who is the son of any member of her husband's own age-group ("They are as his own sons, whatever their clan may be").
(7) As already mentioned, the rule of sub-clan exogamy applies as much to general sex life as it does to marriage and, therefore, a woman must avoid all men of her own sub-clan.

684 PENALTIES FOR BREACHES OF THE ABOVE RESTRICTIONS.

Breach of No. 1.—There is no fixed punishment for a breach of this regulation, but the man would be accused of causing damage to the child, and should abortion take place later, or the child be born with any deformity, he would be held responsible.

Breach of No. 2.—There is no punishment for a breach of this regulation, but it is simply "Not done."

Breach of No. 3.—A woman who is found infringing this rule is severely punished in the following way. She is tied up and severely beaten by her husband, so that her whole skin is bruised, and then sheeps' urine is poured over the abrasions. This acid causes very severe pain for many hours. The boy is not punished, as the fault is held to be entirely that of the woman, who should know better. In actual [431] [754] practice the boy is expected to bring the husband a present of honey beer in order to placate him, and so avoid being cursed with a very potent curse.

Breach of No. 4.—There is no punishment for the woman who is found to have broken this rule, nor is there actual punishment for the man, save that if his sin is discovered he is dishonoured at once by his fellow age-group members, and even if not found out at once, his dishonourable conduct will be found out at the *Eunutu* ceremony (*see* p. 194), when his turn comes to enter the *thingira*.

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593 431 601 *Gifts to Certain Relations.*—A somewhat similar custom is that which ordains that a grown-up son must give certain presents to all children born to his father, as follows:—

(1) To a young girl-child, either a heifer or else a young ewe or young she-goat which has not yet had young. If the former present is given the child in future calls its brother (or half-brother) *baashi*, and if either of the two latter animals is given the appropriate name is *bakuu*.

(2) To a boy-child, either a heifer or a young ram or else a young ewe or she-goat which has not yet had young. The following are the appropriate names by which the boy henceforward calls the man: *Ithubis* if the gift was a young ewe, *ingini* if the gift was a young she-goat, *ndauu* if the gift was a heifer, *ithithume* if the gift was a young ram.

A grown-up son must also give a present to any new wife married by his father, the animal given and the name thenceforward used by the woman to the man being exactly as in the case of girl-children above.

604 *Mother's Brother.*—Among the Masai I can find no trace of any special functions of the mother's brother, and he has no special position in relation to his sister or her children.

589 *Widowhood.*—There is no idea of uncleanness attaching to widowhood, and therefore there is no ceremonial purification ceremony before sexual life can be indulged in by a widow. When a woman is left a widow she builds herself a hut [607] with one of her husband's own brothers (*i.e.* brothers by the same mother), and he becomes responsible for her welfare and acts *in loco parentis* to her children as far as making arrangements for initiation and marriage, etc., are concerned. In [835] no circumstances, however, may this brother or any other of her husband's own brothers have sexual intercourse with the woman. If she is still of child-bearing [851] age she is expected to go on having children (who will rank as her late husband's), and to this end she may have sexual relations with:—

589 834 (1) Any men of her late husband's age-group, who are not excluded by other restrictions (*see* above).

(2) Any of her late husband's half-brothers (*i.e.* brothers by a different mother).

(3) Any other men not otherwise excluded.

757 *Sickness.*—My informant was unwilling or unable to give me any detailed information about the treatment of sick people, save that medicines were made from the barks and seeds of various trees and from the stomach juices of slaughtered animals.

PART VII.—DEATH AND BURIAL.

76 *Death.*—Death is looked upon with fear and, therefore—except in the case of very old men and women past child-bearing—every precaution is taken to avoid a

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

836 Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).
701

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881] [848] [842] [847] [834] [833]

As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

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714

Merker phot.

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.